

THURSDAY, APRIL 8, 1920



Reedy's

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MIRROR

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The Press Switch on Russia

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Michigan's Presidential Primary

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AND AMERICA by Victor Robinson. New York;
The Voluntary Parenthood League.This book is what its title implies, a series
of brief biographies of the champions of an
as yet unpopular proposal of eugenics. Among
the men and women dealt with are Robert
Dale Owen, Charles Bradlaugh, Annie Besant,
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Moses Harmon and Doctor Abraham Jacobi.
These advocates of a better world start not
only at the beginning but before the beginning.
Their case as here presented in tabloid is one
not easily to be confuted.

Some Sonnets

By Elmer Chubb, L. L. D., Ph.D.
VII.

To Edgar Lee Masters

Spirit of Poesy radiant and most fair,
Pure-burning with a high, immaculate
flameLit at the altar raised to Beauty's name
In midmost Heav'n's high court and
borne from thereTo Earth to disinfect mortality's murky
air,Why sufferest thou the sacrilegious
shameOf mocking service, in vile versings
lame,By one whose goddess' harlotries doth
flareThrough Pagan eld in madd'ning lusts,
obscene,In Paphian rite to Sappho's Lesbian
tune?Blind and strike dumb who darest to
defileThe floods e'en of Hell's rivers with
gangrene,Mephitic splashings from the pois'nous
Spoon,Sewer of foul souls out-voluming old
Nile.

VIII.

For the Right

Come, let us serve our country, and
with mightBring on the rule of righteousness in
the land'sWidest extent. A pure heart and clean
handsAre needed for the work to make the
rightTriumphant under heaven. Let us smite
The citadels of liquor where the bandsOf low connivance meet, and God's
commandsAchieve for men before the fall of night
When no man works. Would that my

humble powers

Might be employed to purify and clean
Our time's Augean stables, and to gleanWheat from the tares, plant lillies pure
and flowersOf innocence with nothing vile between—
Then gladly would I end my earthly

hours!

+

IX.

To Congressman Mann

Long shall Fame's loud reverberate
trumpProclaim thee father of the virtuous
ActAttesting interstate morality a fact
Gainst which the gnashing lechers

vainly bump

Their unregenerate heads. Upon the
stumpThou art by lickerish libertines attackt,
But to their libels moral folk reactSwearing their fealty on the camel's
hump.What tho' thou gottest porterhouses free
From beef-trust minions, and a riding-

horse—

No 'casion is't that thou have remorse
For such convention and amenity,But hadst thou ta'en a drink I would
indorse
Thy name to everlasting infamy.

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WILLIAM M. REEDY, Editor and Proprietor

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Brand Whitlock for President

By William Marion Reedy

IN VIEW of the chaotic conditions concerning candidates for the presidential nomination in the Democratic party, "may I not" renew a suggestion originally made three years ago that a good man upon whom forward-looking Democrats should unite is Mr. Brand Whitlock, of Ohio, present Ambassador to Belgium?

There isn't a Democrat named in the speculations about the nomination who is more of a democratic Democrat than Mr. Whitlock—there are not many as much democratic. So there can be no question of his political orthodoxy. Again, he is not a man unknown. His ambassadorial services to his own country, to crucified Belgium, to civilization, to humanity the world well knows, and in this he is a worthy compeer of Herbert Hoover, with whom, for five years, he steadfastly and enthusiastically co-operated. What kind of a democratic administrator he is can be found in his record as Mayor of Toledo in succession to "Golden Rule" Jones, whose policies he carried out with distinction and effectiveness. He was a mayor for all the people and especially for the people who were voiceless and had no friends among the politicians, giving them a consideration theretofore unknown in the history of any American municipality. An open letter of his to some evangelistic reformers upon the subject of dealing with the social evil is a democratic, humanitarian classic, indicating that economic remedies are what is needed in that matter and not the expulsion or deportation of the sinners. His social program is to be found set forth in his autobiography, "Forty Years of It," and in his novels, "The Thirteenth District," "The Turn of the Balance" and others; in the monograph referred to above "The Enforcement of Law in Cities"; in his admirable brief Beacon Biography of Abraham Lincoln, and in the book he wrote about his experiences throughout the war in Belgium. His democracy is of the kind that might be expected in a man who was an intimate associate of John Peter Altgeld, of Illinois, about the time when that powerful personality was a storm center of the struggle between progressive and petrifying democracy, and that he is no prig is shown in the fact that he was one of the liveliest members of the once world-famous Whitechapel Club, of Chicago. He knows politics in theory and practice as a veteran journalist knows it, and this means that he has the capacity to deal with men as well as to formulate principles and policies. His economics is not the ossified science of the endowed colleges and their "tied" professors. His Americanism comes down from the kind that saved the Union between 1861 and 1865.

As an appointee of President Wilson and indeed a re-appointee, he is not open to the imputation of insurgency against party regularity. His familiarity with events in Europe since 1913 and his relations towards the war, the armistice and the peace negotiations give assurance that if elected President he would

bring a valuable experience to the consideration of those international questions which must of necessity be to the fore in the determination of the future policy of this country. His absence from the United States has helped to keep him out of embroilments of factions in his party, and during that absence he has "stuck to his knitting," attended to his job and taken no thought of publicity for his personal glory. He is almost the only American of prominence in Europe, during the past six years and more, who had no press bureau to celebrate himself. His book, "Belgium," is modestly written and even the story of what he did or tried to do for Edith Cavell, executed by the Germans, is told in a way to keep himself, so far as possible, in the background. No American in Europe came off better in all respects than Brand Whitlock: he was a "regular," not a "hero."

Mr. Whitlock is only 51 years old, but the record of his career in "Who's Who" shows that he has been in close touch with men and affairs since 1887, as reporter, correspondent, clerk to the Secretary of State of Illinois, student in the law office of John M. Palmer, lawyer, four times Mayor of Toledo, declining a fifth nomination, and Ambassador to Belgium since 1913. He is not too young to nominate for President. Roosevelt was nominated for Vice President at 42, and Whitlock is as stabilized as Roosevelt was at a corresponding age, while his social and economic vision penetrates more deeply into the causes of things with which government has to deal. He is not afraid of the newer democracy, which is the logical development of the old, and even when putting into effect some of that newer democracy in Toledo was never fantastic or fanatical.

Mr. Whitlock is as well equipped to deal with domestic problems as with international affairs, for his study, his writing and his practice have been on such subjects: the money question, labor, industrial democracy, sane taxation, liberty under law, social amelioration, economic justice—all are his theme, and he is never carried away by theory from the condition with which he has to deal.

Maybe politicians to whom *Leary's* epithet "scurvy" would apply, would find a man like Brand Whitlock hard to swallow and to follow, for he doesn't look on government as a kind of vested interest of "the boys." That kind of Big Business which venally seeks privilege yielding plunder would not care much for Brand Whitlock. But the plain, honest folk would like him and support him, knowing where his sympathies are and to what his philosophy and purpose are directed.

Of no other man so far "mentioned" for the Democratic nomination can so much be said for his democratic thrust as for this Ohioan. The scope of his political genius is broader than that of any of them and his thought follows through, straighter than that of the best of them, to the objective of all political effort—government of equal rights

and opportunity for all, with security for minorities and checks upon majorities. "Whitlock for President" would mean that the Democratic party had gone back to, not on, democracy. It would mean a fight for political, economic, industrial and personal liberty

at home, and for the fulfilment of both our rights and duties as a member of a League of Nations for peace. Whitlock would be a platform in himself and command a support enthusiastic, whereas the support of any other candidate now in mind would be perfunctory.

The Press Switch on Russia

By William Marion Reedy

AMAZING it is, no less, to read the good things that are now being published about the Russian Bolsheviks. Take the letters of Lincoln Eyre in the *New York World* and other papers. They show that Lenin has a real government that functions in the main acceptably throughout a large part of Russia. Education is a matter of careful concern and is being generously fostered. Food supply is fairly distributed and the only fault is the lack of food. Transportation is as good as a system could be that can get no locomotives or freight cars. There is no carnival of massacre. There is fair social discipline, under the strong arm of the best army in Europe. Russia is no paradise, but it is no place of fiends. Taken all in all, Russia has come through two or three revolutions in fairly good shape and with a solidarity, we suspect, brought about by the fact of the enmity of the rest of the world. Russia has a government *de facto* and it governs. The Russian people accept the situation.

Now this is amazing because up to a short time ago everything in Russia was reported quite otherwise. The big papers told us that all was chaos, lit up by flashes of murder, that Lenin was an unscrupulous, ruthless tyrant, that Trotzky was a cheap grafter and boodler, that the women were being made common property, that the people were being starved for the army, that life was being lived under a Red Terror, that industry was paralyzed by neglect and incompetence. Russia was the collapse of humanity. We could imagine all Hell rising from its myriad thrones to do the Bolsheviks reverence. We could not imagine anything appearing in any of the big papers that admitted there was anything in Russia but horror upon horror's head accumulate. The leaders were enemies of the human race. Men who dared write a word to the contrary were depraved beings, lost to all sense of decency and enamored of bestiality.

Why the change? Because Great Britain and her allies and certain financial and business interests in this country reached the conclusion that it was about time to lift the blockade and begin doing business with Russia, for Russia had a supply of materials that Europe could not do without. Russia, through Lenin, had intimated it would pay the debts owed to the financiers of Great Britain, France and the United States. International finance needed Russia in its business. Of course it was not going to trade with the Soviet, only with the Russian co-operative societies. This sounded well, but there are no Russian co-operative societies. They have all been taken over by the Soviet. There's nothing else to trade with than the Soviet. But international Big Business had filled the world with the idea that the Bolshevik Soviet was too wicked to trade with, and it was necessary to dispel the belief it had inculcated. The way to do this was by letting the press tell the people of the world that the Russian government was not as it had been described. The correspond-

ents in Russia were permitted or encouraged to send out matter setting that government in a better light. No more atrocities. No more picturing Russia as a hulking brute, drunk on blood, determined to destroy both government and the primal eldest iniquity—work. So we have the Eyre letters and others which tell us that Russian government has much to be said for it as a going concern, while Russian life has not been wholly brutalized. The press told us what the financiers wanted told when they thought that the Bolsheviks were to be crushed by Denikin, Kolchak, Yudenitch and other generals. Those generals were defeated and crushed. Russia triumphed on all fronts. Then the financiers began to tell us that Lenin and Trotzky and their followers were not such a bad lot after all. The big daily press is stressing that just now. Lenin is a great statesman and philosopher. Trotzky is a great tribune of the people. Six months ago they were both monsters. The propaganda machinery has been reversed. It grinds out praise where before it ground out abuse. The public mind is being formed to accept a renewal of trade relations with Russia. In Great Britain, France and the United States the propaganda is at work only in damning the home Bolsheviks. We are deporting those whom we give that name, but the Russian Bolsheviks are being portrayed as having changed its skin and all its spots. Only a few fanatics are holding out against any dealings with the Russian people.

The big press is the tool of the big international interests. It is serving the Russian people and humanity now only by accident. World finance is willing to admit that Russians are fairly decent folks only because the Russian government cannot be smashed and the financiers want materials which only Russia can supply. Most people knew all along that the Russians were not fiends in human shape, that people are only people wherever they are. Yet the powers that rule in finance cultivated hatred of them in support of finance's desire to get its money from them. If the Russia that we are told of today is the truth then the Russia we have been hearing about up to a few months ago was a lie. Mankind knows in its heart that Russia must always have been nearer like the picture of today than that of six months ago. For a long time, therefore, Russia has been persecuted in the name of a lie and for mere gain, and the press has lent its sanction to the abomination. Observing all this what confidence can we have in the press? What good is it if it gives us only what the big financiers want—hatred to support war when war is what they want, fair words when peace with profit is their desire and purpose? How can people hope to think right when the facts which are the material of their thinking are perverted and poisoned, or when the publication of the truth is permitted only that it may serve the ends of the diplomats and financiers? Even a little truth, though, is dangerous. See what the permis-

sion of its leakage has done to the whole scheme of Allied dealing with Russia! It has destroyed faith in the whole cause of the Allies and it has brought the press itself into universal distrust and contempt. This chapter of press history reinforces all that has been urged in condemnation of corruption of the press in Walter Lippmann's "Liberty and the News," Upton Sinclair's "The Brass Check" and Oliver S. Morris' "Freedom of the Press" in a recent issue of the *MIRROR*. The polluted press is the greatest immediate danger to democracy, for it operates to make people reason falsely to conclusions in the interest of those who would delude the people to their own ends.

Reflections

By William Marion Reedy

Stopping the Stickup

ELEVEN or more bills have been introduced in the New York Legislature having for their object the prevention of extortion in rents. Not one of those most discussed will do any good. The excuse for rent profiteering is the scarcity of houses. The way to stop that is to increase the number of houses. The way to increase the number of houses is to impose such a tax upon unoccupied or unused land that the owner will be forced to make improvements or to sell to someone who will make them. More houses, lower rents. This is the single tax. Apply it, and there will be not only more houses but more factories and more jobs at good pay. The single tax won't hurt anybody but the speculator in land, and he is a "stick-up man" on all business, the worst of all obstructionists of progress.

I HOPE the Republicans will nominate Hoover. That is the only way Senator Reed of Missouri can be kept in the Democratic Party. I believe in "localizing the disturbance."

The Safest City

FROM headquarters of the National Safety Council in Chicago comes a circular letter setting forth the fact that "St. Louis is the safest city." It is true, so far as it goes, but St. Louis is not "safe for Democracy." Not while Mayor Henry Kiel and Director of Public Welfare John Schmoll have their Republican machine in working order. We have fewer accidents here than in any other big city, but it's been a long time since there happened any such accident as the Democracy's carrying St. Louis. But Mayor Kiel and Mr. Schmoll need not plume themselves too proudly over this. St. Louis' Democratic organization could fail to carry St. Louis if the party was running only against itself. It can beat itself and lose without any heterogenetic assistance.

The Treaty in the Air

TALK of ending the war between the United States and Germany by a peace resolution of the Congress is folly. The House of Representatives may pass such a resolution. The Senate will not. The net result of the introduction of such a resolution will be nothing but talk. There has been too much of that now. Why afflict us with more of the same? There is but one way in which the treaty

can be concluded. That is by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate. If the President won't accept the advice and cannot get the consent of the Senate, and the Senate will not accept the treaty as presented by the President, there is no way out of the deadlock. To be sure the President and the Senators may change their minds, but there is no prospect of such a thing. I don't see how there can be a treaty mandate in the coming elections. The issue is not treaty or no treaty, but the President's treaty or a Senate treaty, which is for the most part the same as the President's treaty. The issue will not reduce itself to Senate or President. How can it? We see signs on every hand that the question of wet or dry will be an issue as great or greater in popular interest than the treaty. The Congress will be chosen largely on that issue. Then, too, there will be the labor issue put up to every Congressional candidate by the American Federation of Labor. Prohibition will play a greater part in determining the choice of United States Senator than the attitude of the candidates towards treaty revision. The treaty and the League of Nations cannot well be shunted on to the people in any form upon which there can be a clear-cut decision. The President and the Senate must act in concert. Until they do the treaty must remain hung up, and there can be no official ending of the war. As I see it, the Senate will ratify a treaty which the Allies and Germany will accept, but Mr. Wilson will not accept. Therefore it is Mr. Wilson who stands in the way of peace and the League of Nations. It is he who defeats the hope and breaks the heart of the world. He will not accept half a loaf, therefore the peace-hungry world shall have no bread. That is the way this country and the world sees the situation, I think. But I fail to see how the country is going to vote that way considering the other issues that will enter into the election next November. The responsibility for the treaty rests with the President and the Senate,—more with the former than with the latter, for the President has given the victory not to the friends of some kind of a treaty, but to the Senators who would have no League of Nations or any treaty containing provision for a League of Nations. Not Cabot Lodge, but Woodrow Wilson, must Borah, Johnson, Poindexter and Reed thank for having smashed the covenant.

**

Wilson Contra Mundum

PRESIDENT WILSON would not leave the Turk in Europe, but he won't accept a mandate to keep him out. He will not stand for a modification of the peace terms to Germany, but says that the American army of occupation in Germany is not under the control of Generalissimo Foch. The President has not secured "his" government's consent to the treaty or the league, but he continues to tell the league what it must do to win his consent. He is not in the league, but insists upon "bossing" it. Our late associates in the war cannot be blamed for being in a state of mental confusion over such a situation. France, for instance, wants to know what has become of the Wilson pledge to join with Great Britain in defending France from possible German aggression. She sees that there is no certainty that the President can deliver the goods. No wonder the Allies feel like saying he has his nerve in asking them or telling them to do things when he can do nothing for them in return. As they view conditions the President is helping nobody but Germany. He does

not even incline to any resumption of trade with Russia as the Supreme Council appears to favor, and therefore he seems to be lending his power to the support of whatever tendency there may be toward an alignment of Russia with a revived Germany. It's President Wilson against the world.

**

The Ejected Socialists

IN New York State a man duly elected can be thrown out of office because of the political opinions he professes. It makes no difference if he proposes only to give effect to those opinions by means of the ballot. Today it's a Socialist who is thus denied the right to represent the people who elected him. Tomorrow it may be a Democrat or a Republican who will be so treated. No opinion is sure of respect when it runs counter to that of a majority. No democracy is the real thing when it refuses to respect and protect the rights of minorities to urge any changes in government by the method of public discussion. Representative government is destroyed when the representatives chosen by the people are denied the right to speak for the people in behalf of any program of peaceful change of government under the established forms of procedure. Five Socialists have been unseated by the New York legislative assembly solely for being Socialists. So, if this be let pass, Catholics, Methodists, Christian Scientists, Jews, Episcopalians, Unitarians or others may be denied their civil rights if a majority of fanatics of other faiths, creeds or cults be in control. It is not much of a step beyond this to begin burning or hanging political or religious heretics against any prevailing doctrine. The New York Assembly has struck a severer blow against one hundred per cent Americanism than has ever been delivered by Emma Goldman, Eugene Debs, Kate O'Hare, Ludwig C. K. Mertens, Arturo Giovannitti or any of our much-advertised Reds, Bolsheviks, Anarchists or Nihilists.

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Darrow on Wilson

NEXT week I shall print an article entitled "Woodrow Wilson" from the pen of the poet, philosopher, novelist, lawyer, economist, radical, Clarence Darrow. It will supplement and comment upon the similarly entitled article of week before last by Charles Erskine Scott Wood, of Portland, Oregon, in many ways sib to Darrow.

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Home Rule School Taxation

To solve the problem of teachers' salaries in Missouri, where poor provision for pay of educators has brought education to a low state, it is now proposed that the State Constitution shall be so amended that the annual rates of taxation for county, city, town and school purposes may be increased sufficiently to provide the necessary revenue on the condition that a majority of the voters voting on the proposition at an election, general or special, held to decide the question, vote for said increase, which increased rate, if voted, shall be levied annually thereafter until changed in like manner. All districts may not be short of funds to pay teachers, but all the districts should support the amendment to enable the deficit districts to help themselves. It will prevent the schools in many such districts from going to the basis of a five-months' year. Initiative petitions for the submission of the amendment to the people are now being circulated. The proposal is one for home rule in taxation. I would amend it if possible by providing that the people be permitted to decide

by ballot what class of property shall be untaxed and what class taxed. That would permit the taxing of privilege and the untaxing of industry.

**

Michigan's 'Mazing Primary

JOHNSON defeats Wood in the Michigan Republican presidential primaries. Johnson's cry about money reinforced by the Newberry conviction seems to have carried the day. The result is a big setback for Wood.

In the Democratic primaries Hoover leads but he is fourth in the Republican poll. This shows—what it shows. Second to Hoover ran Governor Edwards with McAdoo, Bryan and Palmer lagging behind. Evidently Michigan Democrats are not infatuated with prohibition, in opposition to which lies Edwards' only claim to support.

The primaries indicate that the "talent" doesn't know much of what is going on in the minds of the voters. They offer more hope to Hooverians than to others, when he leads the poll in a party to which he says he doesn't and couldn't belong. Hoover's vote shows the Democratic leaders don't lead or control. It shows that Republican leaders don't prefer him. Democrats think him more of a Democrat than Republicans think him a Republican.

But one state doesn't make a nomination any more than one swallow makes a summer. Michigan is not so significant as it might be. The anti-boodle atmosphere helped Johnson. The Ford cult throughout the state helped him too and contributed something to Hoover's victory where he wasn't looking for it. As showing the feeling, Detroit voted to bond itself for \$15,000,000 to build a municipal railway in competition with a privately owned system. It also went strong for Edwards for Democratic nominee for president. The people are evidently voting to please themselves, not the bosses, this year.

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The Railway Unions' Demands

RAILWAY unions are insisting upon their demands for more pay. The President is having difficulty in finding men of position and character to serve on the wage board as representatives of the public but the railroads and the unions have named their representatives. The unions say the railroads are forcing the issue so that it may come to a strike. There is some reason to suspect this is true. The tide is running against union labor now and a strike would lack popular support. The railroads could win easier now, possibly, than later. The conditions are disturbing business. They make for pessimistic feeling as to the outcome. Arbitration does not seem to promise the avoidance of trouble; indeed, the railroads don't want to arbitrate the demands of the workers on their merits. The unions want to take the matter to the Labor board and their members are incensed by the action of the railway managers' committee to consider the billion-dollar wage increase without the presence of representatives of the public. The unions have put the matter up to President Wilson. The railroads say they can't stand the raise without assurance of advanced rates. This situation gives the railway law its first trial. No one seems very hopeful that the trial will yield satisfactory results. But the railroads should show a disposition to attempt a peaceful solution. They seem to be dodging or side-stepping in the hope that the public will help them somehow because of its own disinclination to foot the increased wage bill. A strike threatens. The prospect is depressing.

The Constitution, Limited

By William Marion Reedy

WHAT a lot of bunk the prohibition question has brought to the front concerning the Constitution, not to mention bunk ethics and fake morality! Even so great a lawyer as Mr. Elihu Root, in his brief against the prohibition amendment, is guilty of talking palpable nonsense about limitation upon the power of amendment of the nation's organic law. He cites as a *reductio ad absurdum* the proposition that, with the exception that no state can be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate, the power of amendment can be invoked to do various generally considered unthinkable things, thus:

By amendment the legislatures of three-fourths of the states can establish a state religion and prohibit the free exercise of some other religious belief; or quarter a standing army in private citizens' houses; or abolish jury trials; or abolish a republican form of government and create a monarchy; or repudiate the obligation to protect the Pacific States against invasion; or repeal Article II, section 1, that provides for a President.

All those things can be done. Some of them may be done, especially if the advocates of the gateway amendment to make amendment easier have their way. The power to amend is, like the power to tax, the power to destroy. The Constitution is not greater than the people, as the creature is not and cannot be greater than the creator. The people can do anything with or to the Constitution that they want to do, when enough of them are agreed upon such thing.

Mr. Root's brief contains another passage that gives vast comfort to the opponents of prohibition. Here it is:

The opinion of this Court in the Dred Scott case gave rise to a most bitter controversy and to rumblings and threats that almost endangered the safety of this very tribunal. Suppose that this agitation had resulted in a constitutional amendment abolishing this court and the judicial power vested in the Federal courts by Article III of the Constitution, would such an amendment have been valid? To that query we reply in the language of the Chief Justice (Taney) in the opinion rendered in *Abelman vs. Booth*, 21 How 506:

"So long, therefore, as this Constitution shall endure, this tribunal must exist with it, deciding in the peaceful forms of judicial proceedings the angry and irritating controversies between sovereignties, which, in other countries, have been determined by the arbitrament of force."

The name of Roger B. Taney is of evil omen. It was he who held that the Constitution acknowledged no right of the slave as entitled to respect, or even consideration, by implication. He thought there was a limitation as to amendment providing for emancipation. It took a mighty war to reverse Taney and emancipation became a fact. The limitation was thrown off. Taney was wrong as the moral sense of mankind now admits.

As to the Supreme Court, even that august tribunal may be and can be abolished, as it was debauched to politics in order to get a decision the Grant administration sought in the legal tender cases. The Supreme Court is not fixed and eternal. The people can rid themselves of it. Some folks say the Supreme Court itself is not constitutional, but that is not the question here. The Supreme Court, we may concede, must exist as long as the Constitution does, but not after the Constitution has been rewritten by amendment in a way to abolish the court. As for the Constitution itself it can be amended by striking out everything after its title—when the people want to do that thing. Three-fourths of the states can do it so long as the Constitution stands as

written. Such majority is supreme. There is no absolute provision for the security of a minority against such action by three-fourths of the states. To admit this philosophically, as most authorities do, is to admit it pragmatically. We cannot deny the power of the majority to do as it pleases. If we should oppose such action there is no escaping the fact that such a majority desperately determined, if strong enough, as the North was against the South, could again amend the Constitution by force of arms. There can be no denial of the strongly supported philosophical or factual principle of "the greatest good to the greatest number." The greatest number not only can but may decide that what they desire is *ipso facto* the greatest good. It is a way the greatest number has. There is nothing in the Constitution that absolutely prevents the possibility, for example, of changing the instrument to provide for what the world now knows as a Soviet. The Supreme Court is neither infallible nor immortal. It is not greater than the Constitution, and if it is so, it is not greater than the people bent, as some day they may be, upon getting rid of it.

All of which is not to say that one favors a state religion, or quartering an army upon the individual, or abolishing jury trials or abolishing the Presidency and setting up a monarchy, or destroying the Supreme Court—although there may be fairly good arguments in favor of all those propositions. Suppose Nietzscheism grows stronger than democracy, that it becomes the philosophy and faith of the majority, what would become of democracy? Suppose the people want a congress of representatives of trades and crafts and professions, barring, let us say, people who live on inherited wealth, which is only inherited power to control and fatten upon the labor of others. If enough of them so believe they can and possibly would put through a soviet government, and they would scrap the Constitution in a jiffy, as the first step to that end. We think that a state religion is impossible, but there's no reason why we should think so. There's a democracy in Great Britain and it supports an established church. There's nothing impossible to the people in the matter of making or changing the laws under which they live. There is, of course, no absolute rightness or virtue in a majority, but the majority rules when it really wills to rule and constitutions and courts, supreme or inferior, cannot stand in the way. At last and worst there always remains the right of revolution. And endlessly in this country there will always persist the belief that Taney's contention that there are absolute limitations upon the power to amend the Constitution is wrong in law and morals. The Constitution is not sacrosanct. We know it has been perverted. We know the Supreme Court has said one day it meant one thing and another day the opposite. The power of the people is the only final supreme power in any land under the sun.

The people, that is to say, a majority, can and did put prohibition on us. I believe they did wrong. But even so there's no way of surely undoing their work until a majority of the people go into active opposition to prohibition. The Supreme Court may side with Mr. Root, but the Supreme Court once decided against Andrew Jackson and he said: "Let the Supreme Court enforce its decision," and it could not do so. So the Supreme Court

may uphold prohibition. Can it enforce prohibition? No. No law can be enforced if the prevailing moral sense of the people is against it. The Constitution could not enforce social equality for the Negro, for example, even though the Supreme Court declared it could or should. The people are supreme. The epigoni are the supermen.

The supreme court of the epigoni will decide, I believe, eventually if not now, against prohibition, but also against the renaissance of the saloon. And then the infallible, inviolable, impeccable Supreme Court will "follow the election returns."

♦ ♦ ♦

"Jane Clegg"

By Silas Bent

WITH the passing of the apron stage, and the coming of the theatric illusion that a wall had been removed from above the footlights for the spectators' benefit, there arose a new demand for naturalness. It doomed forever the painted back-drop, the soliloquy and the breast-beating phrase. Even the footlights disappeared in time, and the players, instead of addressing their lines to the orchestra, learned to speak with their backs to the audience! This verity of stage investiture and deportment came to be called, and in general was fondly believed to be, realism. As a matter of fact it was addressed to the eye and ear, not to the brain and heart, and it actually tended to encourage insincerity and artificiality in playwriting. So the setting was realistic, what mattered it that the play had no actual contact with life? In the glow of a Belasco sunset who could pause to ask whether the heroine was talking like a real person?

Herein, I believe, is to be found the principal cause of that shoddiness which marks most of the present-day dramaturgic output. We have thought so much about real doors and windows that we have overlooked unreal motives and emotions. The dramatic has been supplanted by the theatric. Ninety-nine out of every hundred plays to be seen will illustrate well enough what I mean. I wish here to discuss the hundredth. "Jane Clegg," as it is being presented at the Garrick by the New York Theatre Guild, contains not a theatric gesture, scene nor word. In the writing, the staging, the acting of it, there is not one false pretension. It might have happened in the apartment next door to you. And yet it is absorbingly, although not superbly nor profoundly, dramatic. Its supreme virtue is that it is true.

That, I realize, is a brash assertion, and perhaps I ought to reinforce it straightway by telling you, as best I may within this brief compass, what the play is and what kind of people it brings before you. The people are middle class. What happens is this:

When Henry Clegg's disloyalty to his wife first became known to her she realized that she could not earn enough, if she left him, to support their two babies, and so she forgave him. With her it was a simple enough problem in domestic economy. To her mother-in-law, to be sure, it presented itself in quite another light. Henry's mother regarded marriage as a contract for better or worse, and had pious scruples regarding any rupture of the relation. Henry's father had said more than once that it near broke his heart to be a Christian, and had professed a profound admiration for the Turks and Mormons. Unfaithfulness on the part of such men was to be borne as well as might be. It was just the nature of the animal. But Jane Clegg, although she thought things out slowly, was of a different mind.

What happened when Henry offended a second time, after his wife had received a small bequest which made her modestly independent of his support, is the theme of St. John Ervine's play. Jane is a faithful and dutiful wife, as much in love with her husband, she finds, as women are likely to be after twelve years of married life. As for Henry, it must not be supposed that because he has vio-

lated his marriage vow he is congenitally vicious. He is just shabby and, as he says on his own behalf, weak; and perhaps he speaks truth when he says he might have made a better husband if *Jane* hadn't proved too good for him. When the play opens he has become entangled with *Kitty*, whom we do not meet, but who, if we will take his word for it, is a "fine skirt." He has been playing the races, too. We begin to suspect the seriousness of the scrape he has got himself into when *Mr. Munce*, a bookmaker, invades his home to dun him for twenty-five pounds. *Mr. Munce* is a "square bookie," a man with a conscience, who has always paid when he lost and who wants his customers to pay him. But, *Henry*, we learn, hasn't the money. On the contrary, *Kitty* has been to the doctor that morning and is going to need money on her own account.

If a customer hadn't made out a check to *Henry* personally instead of to the firm, he might have escaped a defalcation. He tries to persuade *Jane* to let him have two hundred pounds out of her nest-egg, but she is obdurate. So *Henry* cashes the check and plans to elope to Canada with *Kitty*.

Before this precious plan can be carried out, the cashier of the firm *Henry* works for discovers that he has failed to account for the check, and mercifully calls at the house to learn what the matter is, before reporting it to the employer. In the face of impending disgrace, *Jane* deems it better to make good the shortage out of the money she has, not so much for protection of her husband as for the sake of their children. She does not yet know about *Kitty* and the planned elopement; but she learns, when the bookmaker in turn demands payment, about *Henry's* "fancy woman" and realizes that he has been lying to her throughout. For even *Mr. Munce* has come to the conclusion that *Henry* is an "absolute rotter," and expresses the opinion without reserve. He even goes so far as to say that he and *Henry* can't be friends again, which, for a bookmaker, is a severe indictment indeed.

Jane, as you may suppose, has gone into hysterics. Not so. She is too inarticulate, too slow-thinking, too plodding, for so facile a sanctuary. By cross-questioning *Henry* as to what actually has been done with the money he embezzled, she wrings from him a shame-faced but half-defiant confession of his plan to elope. The tickets for Canada have already been purchased. Then, says *Jane* tearlessly, to Canada, he must go; but he cannot wait with her until the morning. He must go straightway to his *Kitty*.

And it is not until after her husband, astonished and shocked, his vanity pricked that she can let him go without throwing herself upon his breast—it is not until he has left the house that tears overwhelm her for a moment. It is not for long. As the curtain falls we see her ascending the stair to her children and a new world.

Margaret Wycherly, who takes the title part in the play, is mistress of that difficult technique of restraint demanded by the drama of today at its best. She acquits herself admirably until the last moments, when emotion is for a time unleashed. Perhaps dissatisfaction with her performance in this passage is not so much due to fault of hers as to a responsiveness to her earlier repression. Miss Wycherly can convey emotion successfully by mere suggestion. Actually to "register" it seems almost supererogation.

Dudley Digges plays the abominable *Henry* most admirably. He had the part of *Jimmy Caesar* in "John Ferguson," the Ervine play which put the Theatre Guild on its feet, and which is to be revived later this season. "Jane Clegg" inevitably invites comparison with the other play, which was first reviewed for MIRROR readers by Mr. Clarence N. Stratton. I was surprised to learn that "John Ferguson," much the less expertly constructed of the two, was written several years after this play. "John Ferguson" is marred by the familiar stage claptrap of the mortgage on the old home, and the rape of the daughter of the house by the mortgagee, and a mystery as to who has made himself avenger. The characters set down in the midst of this machinery behave, once their surroundings are granted, with

an amazing verisimilitude. It was their truthfulness to life that triumphed over their artificial surroundings, and gave the drama a record run. But in "Jane Clegg" circumstances are not superimposed; they are the inevitable outcome of the characters involved. In "John Ferguson" the important happenings were mostly off-stage. "Jane Clegg" works itself out before our eyes, swiftly and unerringly. And yet, despite its technical shortcomings, "John Ferguson" strikes deeper root into the heart.

It cannot be said that so great an acting part has been created for Mr. Digges in this play as in the other. But it is to his credit that he portrays *Henry's* vanity and egotism and weakness so per-

suasively as to arouse in his audience an animosity almost personal. Helen Westley has the part of *Henry's* mother, a fond parent, doting grandparent and meddling mother-in-law; and she permits none of its possibilities to escape her. It is a characterization without fault, and praise quite as high may be accorded to *Henry Travers* as *Mr. Munce*. Erskine Sanford as the cashier, rounds out a company of exceptional merit. Even the children are less like stage children than most. With such cooperation, and with Emanuel Reicher's skilled hand at the producer's helm, Mr. Ervine's sincere and authentic picture of drab domestic tragedy cannot fail of its full effect.

The Farmer-Labor Combine in Minnesota

By Oliver S. Morris

THE daily press of the Twin Cities, and I suppose of the rest of the country, has announced that "Townley" has named a state ticket for the Minnesota campaign this year; that there has been a more or less "unsuccessful" attempt to get union labor to co-operate with farmers in the election of this ticket, and that both farmers and city workers are "dissatisfied" with the candidates and have been unable to agree on a joint farmer-labor platform.

The editorial comment of the big press relative to these alleged facts has been on the evils of "attempted class government," the "menace of Bolshevism" and the "danger of the destruction of the American Constitution," if encouragement is given "Socialists" and "radicals" by tolerating this movement for a moment in Minnesota.

Just what has happened to occasion these news reports and editorial comments is perfectly easy to ascertain. The facts are that the Non-Partisan League has its biggest membership, outside of North Dakota, in Minnesota—about 60,000; that the Minnesota State Federation of Labor sometime ago in state convention assembled ordered the formation of a union labor political organization to co-operate with the league; that in consequence, the Working People's Non-Partisan League has been organized, with practically every union man in the state a dues paying member, and that these two leagues, representing about 125,000 organized workers and farmers, have just held their conventions in perfect harmony and co-operation, and have indorsed a state ticket which, in all probability, will be nominated in the Republican primaries in June and elected in November.

Lest this seems to be a too optimistic prediction, let me state:

The Non-Partisan League, without any formal or close co-operation with union labor, but merely through a loose campaign arrangement with a few union leaders and the indorsement of a few individual unions, in the Republican primaries of 1918 cast 150,626 votes for its candidates. Governor Burnquist won re-nomination with 199,325 votes. The league vote would have nominated the Republican candidate in any other primary ever held in Minnesota—but the Democrats flocked into the Republican primary to beat the league man, and give Burnquist the nomination. The farmers then put up an independent candidate for the November (1918) election, with this result:

| | |
|--------------------------------|---------|
| Burnquist (machine Republican) | 166,515 |
| Evans (Nonpartisan League) | 111,984 |
| Wheaton (Democrat) | 76,793 |

In that campaign the league had 50,000 dues-paying members in Minnesota. It has 60,000 now. In that campaign labor had no political organization and spent no money, and beyond the work of a few union leaders, Labor made no consistent, organized effort to help the league ticket. Today, labor has as powerful a political organization as the farmers, with as much enthusiasm and determination, and

the labor organization jointly with the farmers has indorsed a full state ticket.

Two years ago the league was accused of disloyalty. In 20 counties its campaign meetings were forbidden, in many counties its organizers were ordered out, and in at least one county its members were proscribed and ordered to recant or be subject to deportation by unofficial mobs. (The notice was hung up in the post office.) This year the league is merely declared to be Bolshevistic, and the reaction from the reign of terror of 1918 has been so violent that no town or county has ventured to forbid league meetings or mob league organizers.

Or consider this: In the November (1918) election Ramsey County (St. Paul) gave the league candidate 9963 votes, the Democrat 10,039, and the Republican 10,067. Since then, with the Working People's Nonpartisan league functioning, St. Paul at a special election sent a labor man, Keller, to Congress, with several thousands of votes to spare, and just a few weeks ago St. Paul at a nonpartisan city primary nominated a candidate for mayor and candidates for the city council which led the entire field by big majorities and pluralities.

And so there is considerable apprehension in various circles, which accounts for the depreciating news stories and nervous editorials appearing in the big daily press in Minnesota and elsewhere.

Both the farmers' league and the working people's league held delegate state conventions March 24 and 25 last. The delegates to the farmers' conventions were sent to St. Paul by Nonpartisan League county conventions, whose delegates had been elected in the voting precincts by league members, much like the old-party caucus and convention system—a ground, by the way, for the charge of the opposition that the league is "boss-ruled" and is adopting the methods of the political gangsters which it pretends to denounce. But of course the league is nonpartisan and in Minnesota this year is going to work through the Republican party, seeking a place for its candidates on the Republican ticket at the June state-wide primaries. Republicans, to make the race for the league in those primaries, must be indorsed. And how, ask leaguers, can the sentiment of the farmers as to what Republicans shall be backed be registered, except through a system of caucuses and conventions?

To the charge that the caucuses and conventions violate the spirit of the direct primary, they answer that the direct primary will be held according to law, and the Republican candidates will be selected in it, according to law—the conventions being merely unofficial, to determine whom the farmers shall support in the primaries. And as a final, conclusive answer, the leaguers point out that the Republican "regulars" have themselves called an unofficial convention, which will attempt to eliminate ALL Republican candidates, other than farmer-labor candidates, except one for each office, so the old guard vote will not be split and the League-labor men win by a scattering of the conservative vote.

Labor's state convention, which met at the same time, had delegates selected from labor unions throughout the state that have joined the Working People's Nonpartisan league. Labor held no local or county conventions, but sent 400 delegates to the convention direct from the local unions, one for each 100 union members. Local unions become members of the Working People's league when 25 cents for each member in the union is paid in to the state league. Thus 40,000 unionists were represented by the labor convention.

All kinds of trouble were predicted by the press when the farmer and labor conventions met and proceeded to work out a plan of joint action in naming candidates and shaping a platform. It was said there was no practical method by which the collective sentiment of the two conventions could be registered in a set of candidates and a platform; that while a seeming agreement might be made, the delegates of the two bodies as a whole could not be satisfied with the result; that labor wanted a lot of things in the platform and a lot of labor favorites on the ticket that farmers wouldn't stand for, and so with the farmers in respect to labor. Anyway, said these press critics, how could conventions organized on a different basis of representation form a plan of joint action that would work?

But it was very easy. Each convention appointed a conference committee. Each convention threshed out the whole field of candidates and advised its respective conference committee what candidates it would stand for and what ones it would not stand for. In some instances labor proposed two or three men as possibilities for an office, in others only one. Likewise with the farmers. The conference committees, thus instructed, got together and sat up one night till the early hours of the morning, and when they emerged from the conference room, all members, both farmers and workers, were smiling. The conference committee had agreed—unanimously—on a set of candidates. It remained to report the result back to the two conventions next day. Some objections were expected from both the farmer and labor bodies, and observers of the proceedings thought it would be marvelous if the two conventions would be entirely satisfied without several more conferences between the two committees. But lo! and behold, the labor convention and the farmer convention got up on their hind legs and shouted themselves hoarse when the conference report was read, and proceeded, in each convention, to adopt the conference report unanimously.

And the papers admitted next day that "some sort of an agreement had apparently been brought about through liberal use of the whip by leaders in both conventions." And they added that "as a matter of fact the whole ticket had been named by Townley," who, by the way, is A. C. Townley, president of the Nonpartisan League. But further down in their stories the befuddled reporters declared that practically the whole ticket was composed of LABOR men, and intimated that the farmers "got a raw deal!" Townley of the farmers' league named the ticket, they said, but strangely enough he didn't put any farmers on it!

As a matter of fact, there are as many farmers on the ticket as labor men, and it's not a "class" ticket, because it is headed by Dr. Henrik Shipstead, of Glenwood, for Governor, a professional man who belongs neither to the League nor a labor union, but is just a fighting, thinking liberal Republican who wants to see Minnesota "cleaned up." He has served in the legislature, was active in war work and believes the program of the unions and farmers' organizations will benefit the people at large.

The platform on which the ticket will run is the Nonpartisan league program—which labor agrees to, entire—plus a demand for a tonnage tax on the iron ore being stripped from northern Minnesota by the steel trust without adequate return to the people, who will lose this natural resource in a few years and have nothing to show for it but ugly holes in the ground; plus workmen's injury

and death insurance administered by the state; plus home rule for cities in fixing public utility rates; plus labor's demand for an eight-hour day, except in agriculture pursuits, and a list of labor demands which include proper protection of male and female workers in industry, the right of collective bargaining and other legislation favored by the American Federation of Labor. Nothing "red" or radical about any of it, though if you believed the big press, it spells "wreck and ruin" for Minnesota.

A slip-up in the final hours of the conventions gave the reporters a foothold for black headlines about a disagreement between the conventions. Each convention adopted a program—the farmers the Nonpartisan League program, the workers the program the unions have stood for for years. The conference committee simply approved both programs and incorporated them entire into a platform for the candidates to run on. The conference platform report was supposed to be read and adopted at a mass meeting of the delegates of the two conventions and members of farmer and workers' organizations at the St. Paul auditorium the night of March 26. But the speeches were many and long and the chairman forgot this order of business, or somebody else did, and as a result the platform as approved by the conference committee was not presented. It will be signed by all the candidates and officers of the two leagues, however. But the papers have made all sorts of charges, among them the one that no joint platform was agreed upon, be-

cause it was impossible to agree upon one, and that's why it was not presented to the mass meeting. All of which makes Leaguers and union men snicker. The opposition is much worried and the fuss over this is simply one of the symptoms of their worry.

But the fight has just begun. The labor and farmer leagues have a sizeable campaign fund, all contributed in dues out of the "hard-earned" money of the individual workers and farmers. But the opposition has a bigger fund, not contributed by individuals, but donated in big chunks by nervous gentlemen with long bank rolls, who do not sleep o' nights for thinking of horrible "Bull-she-we-kee" with bristly black whiskers, and bombs in their coat pockets.

The farmer-labor forces have a strong weekly press and are about to start publication of a daily at Minneapolis—the building is erected and the machinery installed already—with practically every League farmer and labor unionist in the state on the subscription list in advance of publication. But the "old gang" has a bigger press, including every daily at present in the state, and most of the country weeklies.

In fact, the only thing the "old gang" lacks, as a farmer put it in my office the other day, is the votes—the farmers and workers have those and they are enough to carry the day, if the boys "stick," and it looks as though they will.

It's likely to be safe for democracy in Minnesota yet!

Biologic Light on Stupidity

By George A. Briggs

THIS light comes from a book entitled "The Instinct of the Herd in Peace and War," by W. Trotter (T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd., Adelphi Terrace, London). The book is a biological study of man's reactions on his environment and experience. It upsets the apple cart of conventional thought.

When I read Swedenborg and Schopenhauer I felt that this would happen some day, and the feeling was reinforced recently after many pleasant foregatherings with that kindly pope of pessimists, Clarence Darrow. But what before was merely "a hunch," now becomes an almost verifiable bit of knowledge. It no longer depends upon inspired revelation, upon philosophic deductions, or upon temperamental pessimism. It is, on the contrary, an optimistic conviction fairly well established by scientific demonstration.

The conventional thought referred to, which is now upset, is that man essentially is a rational creature. He is subject, it is true, to certain feeble relics of instinctive impulsion, but he is able to control these with no great expenditure of will-power. He is irrational at times in an amiable and rather nice way, but fundamentally he is always independent, responsible and captain of his soul.

For this prevalent conviction Trotter joins Swedenborg, Schopenhauer and Darrow in one grand chorus of contempt. And Trotter's voice carries the theme high above the harmonic accompaniment of his cobelievers.

Here is the burden of his song.

Feeling is the key to the problem of human conduct; and feeling has relations with instinct as obvious and as fundamental as are the analogies between intellectual processes and reflex action.

The way to identify instinct is by the manner in which it reveals itself to consciousness. It always comes as something which so clearly makes "sense" that any idea of discussing its basis is foolish and wicked. This certainty is the distinguishing quality of instinctive impulses, whereas knowledge based upon rational considerations usually is held in an attitude of suspended judgment, and always with willingness to have its bases investigated.

Among the instincts of man of course, are the obvious ones of self preservation, nutrition and sex. But these cannot complete the list, because man, in spite of his instinctive and obvious duty to the contrary, often does not preserve himself, often does not nourish himself, and often resists the blandishments of sex.

He must, therefore, have some fourth instinct which has no very evident object as regards the individual, but which modifies the other three, and leads to new combinations in which the primitive, instinctive impulse is unrecognizable as such.

A clue is found in the fact that among animals and insects there are some whose conduct, like that of man, cannot be generalized in the categories of self preservation, nutrition and sex. The behavior of the cat or the tiger can, but that of the wolf or the bee cannot. All such whose behavior cannot be thus generalized are gregarious; while those whose conduct falls wholly within these categories are not gregarious, but solitary.

Now the passage of life from the solitary to the gregarious is as striking a biological advance as was the passage from the unicellular to the multicellular. In each case the individual loses some of its capacities, but in return gains a greater range of variability. And variations not immediately favorable have a chance to survive. The competing unit is enlarged.

With bees the individual is incapable of existing apart from the community. And in gregarious colonies less closely knit the individual is more dependent upon the communal life than appears at first sight. There is, indeed, a profound biological significance in gregariousness. It effects the enlargement of the selective unit and within the group the action of natural selection becomes modified.

Within man, then, the appearance of altruism is to be regarded as a directly instinctive product of gregariousness, and as natural therefore as any other instinct.

Suggestibility too, is a necessary quality of every normal mind. It is the cement of the herd, because the cardinal quality of the herd is homogeneity.

Circumlocutions

By Horace Flack

VII. THE DUTY OF MY NEIGHBOR

*"Every man is my neighbor, when he does as it pleases him,—harmless.**Just let him be,—and free! That is his duty to me."*

I HAVE at times approximated sanity. Once or twice, in my lifetime, I have been so nearly reasonable that from what I learned of myself then, I can explain everything I did when least reasonable last year, or year before last.

As far as I actually do this, some may suspect that I can also explain what they did, and why they did it when least reasonable last year and year before last.

I do not claim this. I do not admit it,—at present. It is a fact that I was not painted yellow last year, and that year before last, I was not displayed in an iron-barred cage in the public square of any county town in the United States. I have not even been sentenced to twenty years in the penitentiary.

There is a long list of other things which have not occurred to me, though they have occurred to others, who, finding themselves approximately sane and almost reasonable for the time being, undertook to convince their neighbors that by becoming somewhat sane, they would know at once how to be very much more patriotic at very much less expense.

If I had been removed from bed at midnight, taken into an adjoining state, whipped, tarred and feathered, and afterwards indicted, it might be taken for granted at once that everything other people are or ought to be most ashamed of is as plain to me now as it must become to them, if they ever learn to be decent enough to repent of it.

But before I can be convicted of this, it must be proven. I do not admit it, and it has nothing to do with the case at any rate.

The case is my own case.

It is of great interest to me. Otherwise, I might be an Altruist. An Altruist is a person who has the habit of telling me my duty to my neighbor. Or else he sits in a swivel chair and offers me as a supreme sacrifice to his ideal. I do not wish to bay the moon. Although I admire good dogs, the more I know of Altruists, I do not wish to be a dog. But I would rather be a dog of any kind (say a recently scalded yellow dog) and bay the moon, than an Altruist of the swivel chair kind who tells other people their duties of supreme sacrifice to his ideal. I am entirely willing for every Altruist in every swivel chair in the world to leave it at once, and immolate himself in any way he pleases, and as soon as he pleases. The sooner, the better! If he makes a Supreme Sacrifice, so as to leave his swivel chair forever vacant, I will ask nothing more. And certainly I will not ask to occupy his swivel chair. The swivel chair of the Altruist does not suit my case, and I am now explaining why my own case interests me, as it may also interest others who are no more altruistic than I am.

I am making no claim to superiority. I am not reliably rational at all times, but only at times approximately and unreliably rational. This being the case (of the greatest possible interest to me, as my own case) I am putting the question, not of my duty to my neighbor, which I know only too well, but of my neighbor's duty to me. This is fully illustrated in the personal conduct of all the neighbors I have, who have known me long enough to be most nearly aware of my personal infirmities. Whatever they are politically, personally they have treated my infirmities with the utmost possible respect and consideration. I doubt if they know my worst, but they could not have treated me more kindly or considerately if they had known it. At my worst, if I, Horace Flack, lived in a cabin, alone among Altruists, a hundred to one against me, I could leave them alone with calmness, with toleration, almost with charity. But if I, Horace Flack, had only an acre of ground on the rockiest hill, with my own family on it, and Altruists with the highest

This demands that the members possess sensitive-ness to the behavior of their fellows. Each instinctively tends to follow his neighbor, and in turn to be followed. But no lead will be successful that departs widely from customary behavior.

Any originality in conduct, that is, any resistiveness to the voice of the herd, will be suppressed by natural selection. The wolf, for example, which does not follow the impulses of the pack will be starved.

The desire to be in and with the herd will have the strongest instinctive weight. Anything which seems to tend towards separating the individual from his fellows will be strongly resisted. The individual feels an unanalyzable, primary sense of comfort in the actual presence of his fellows. Loneliness on the other hand is a great terror, insurmountable by reason.

Slightly more complex is the desire for identification with the herd in matters of opinion. Here is the biological explanation for the tendency of man towards segregation into classes. Anything novel in belief or action is wrong, wicked or foolish. For example, although man is instinctively altruistic, yet the herd impulse taboos all new forms of altruism irrespective of how good and desirable such forms may be.

These instinctive responses to herd suggestion, which come to man as *a priori* syntheses needing no proof but their own evidence, can confer instinctive sanctions on any opinion, belief or action, however irrational it may be.

It is worthy of note, in this connection, that man is not suggestible generally. Notoriously he is insuggestible to experience. Human progress everywhere illustrates this. But those suggestions that come from the herd, and those only, have weight. Of two suggestions that which the more perfectly embodies the voice of the herd is the more acceptable. The force of herd-suggestion therefore, may be expressed in terms of bulk.

Experience is met by resistance because it is opposed by decisions based upon instinctive belief. It follows, then, that a considerable proportion of beliefs are non-rational to a marked degree. They are, of course, not so regarded by the holder. They are supported by more or less elaborately rationalized justifications. But the belief is primary. The explanation, although masquerading as the cause of the belief, is secondary.

Verifiable knowledge, happily, however, may acquire the potency of herd suggestion. To the student of biology, for example, the principles of Darwinism have acquired this force through being held by the class he most respects. The discoverable touchstone by which non-rational belief may be distinguished from rational belief is the feeling which tells us that to inquire into it would be absurd, unnecessary or wicked.

The solution to this conflict between instinct and experience; between irrational herd impulses and the verifiable data of science, would seem to be (a) in a thorough investigation of the nature and scope of the herd instinct; and (b) a conscious effort to have suggestion always on the side of reason.

We should try to learn to fear an unverifiable opinion as much as we fear to use the wrong implement at the dinner table. The thought of holding a prejudice should disgust us as does a foul disease.

The recognition, then, of the power of herd-suggestion is the first step towards its control and direction in the interest of orderly growth and development for the human race. Consider, for example, its power in the conflict between instinct and experience as it relates to altruism. Because man is gregarious, as we have seen, he is altruistic. Yet the herd resists all new forms of altruism. Always it has opposed them with fearful, repressive force. In spite of this, however, the instinctive altruistic impulse persists. It will become an irresistible enthusiasm when we become willing to encourage it by the voice of the herd.

titles on earth, came a hundred to one, to sacrifice my children to their ideals, I think all I would need for supreme enjoyment of my own worst would be a rock which, as I lay flat behind it, would serve as a rest for an old-style Winchester until I could use at least one hundred cartridges to the best advantage. It is one of my infirmities now, to be able to handle a Winchester only from rest, and it is only thus that I could do anything like my worst with one. And I thank heaven—and my neighbors that I have never done it,—not even against my own worst enemies and the worst enemies of the human race, who sacrifice others in trying to dominate the world with their ideals.

As my neighbors have been too just to force me to my worst, they have helped to teach me my best as far as they have been free. For this I thank them and thank heaven most, since it is only when free that I can hope to be either just or kind and heaven can exist only for those who learn to be just and kind.

The Railroads' Hard Luck Story

By Charles J. Finger

ON page 268 of last week's issue THE MIRROR quotes Mr. Festus J. Wade as deploring the abandonment of 989 miles of trackage in 1919. Mr. Wade might just as well shed tears because a

wind storm broke decaying branches from park trees. The roads abandoned had no other future before them. They were not only abandoned, but the material of which they were composed was sold at many times its original cost for war purposes and the owners gained thereby.

Further, as carriers they were superfluous having been built upon expectation and not from economic necessity. The villages and towns they touched are no worse off for their absence.

I attended nine or ten sales of such roads and examined and reported upon fourteen of them. For a syndicate I bought four and dismantled three. All were positively dangerous to operate. Your editorial says "the roads emerge crippled from government control." That is not so.

During the period of government operation, the old operating officials were retained in office. Knowing, as they did, that the roads would be eventually returned to the original owners, and being for the first time in a position in which requisitions for railroad material would be honored in full and without cutting, they seized the opportunity.

Never in the history of railroading was more efficient and expensive maintenance work done, for the public paid the bill and there was no auditing. Never were more additions and betterments carried to a conclusion. Consequently the roads as returned were immeasurably better physically than when they were taken over.

The unparalleled expenditure accounted for the "deficit" under government supervision. Under the Esch-Cummings bill the government guarantees a continuance of this kind of thing, for that is what the guarantee of a net operating income of 5½ per cents amounts to. Operating officials can now confidently continue to charge additions and betterments to operating expense instead of to capital account, and the public will foot the bill. Or, as the newspaper writers have it, "we are about to enter an era of marked prosperity, for the railroads are entering huge orders."

In other words, the public is about to be made rich by being taxed.

Believe me, there's no danger of a 'demoralized and disorganized railroad world' under the Esch-Cummings bill. Remember too, that whatever amount the railroad accounting departments judge fit to charge as "depreciation" is included in operating expense. As a railroad official and executive, I find the Esch-Cummings bill a measure of delight—as a citizen and a taxpayer, I foam at the mouth when I consider it.

Politics in Missouri

By Dudley Binks

I don't get this new brand of politics at all. Can't understand it. One man only running as yet for the Democratic nomination for United States Senator—Breckenridge Long. He's a nice young fellow, Assistant Secretary of State, rather wealthy and very well liked by every Missourian who had any dealings with him in Washington. He's said to have given \$10,000 to the first Wilson campaign fund and to have paid the debts of the St. Louis Wilson Club. He's a fairly good lawyer. But his platform! Nothing to it but Wilsonism and shop-worn platitudes. He's not constructive in anything he says. He just trails. That won't do.

Fred Gardner hesitated to get in. He didn't like the row over Senator Reed's regularity and loyalty. He was afraid of the prohibition issue. Just before election day in 1916 he declared against prohibition to please St. Louis interests. The declaration was swiftly circulated through the state and while Wilson carried the state big, Gardner barely nosed in by about 2,000 votes. He didn't want to have to make any more declarations on prohibition. Whatever way he de-

clared, he would lose votes. Then he isn't as popular as he was. No governor ever is at the end of his term. So Fred, who, by the way, stands better in the country than in the city, says he won't try for the senatorship. But I guess he will loom up as a candidate for delegate-at-large to San Francisco. I hear that Burris Jenkins is another aspirant for delegate-at-large. Then there's talk of Judge Graves and also of Sam B. Cook. Jenkins may be put up specifically in place of Reed. He is Wilsonian to a finish.

Maj. Hawes needs a guardian. He'd like to run for the nomination on a light wine and beer platform. Good enough as a matter of principle, but the spiel for that should have come from a man not so closely identified with the big brewing interests, however honorably. Maj. Hawes' declaration has only driven back into the dry ranks the men who were drifting away because of the inconveniences and iniquity of drastic anti-liquor enforcement. Maj. Hawes' play brought Charles M. Hay out as an avowedly dry Democratic candidate, and it gave an added impetus to the candidacy of John M. Atkinson for the gubernatorial nomination.

Charles M. Hay is no slouch. He's

good looking and a brilliant speaker. He has been in the legislature with a straight record. He is more than a "dry." Because he jumped out at once and fought Reed for his balking the President, Hay stands well with the faithful, old-time party men and women. That would help his race in the primary even in St. Louis, with all its wetness—supposedly. There's a lot of bunk talked about the reaction from prohibition, even in St. Louis. Most of it is among the element that is largely Republican anyhow—among the Germans. I would not swear that even St. Louis would go wet if prohibition were the flat issue, if the dries were given judges and watchers and challengers at the polls. Maj. Hawes is a bit obsessed on the liquor question, judging by his pronouncements. The country doesn't like the city politician and that's what Maj. Hawes is chiefly. The "regular" Wilsonian "rubes" have an idea that Maj. Hawes is with Senator Reed, entertains him here, engineers his meetings to slam the League of Nations and generally sympathizes with the fiery Kansas Cityan. That is not true, for Maj. Hawes favors a treaty with reservations, while Reed will have no truck with the treaty, but "the hicks in the

sticks" have Hawes down as against Wilson, and that won't help Harry a little bit. That and his beer associations will handicap him heavily. I think he has solidified the dries rather than split them with his plea for light wines and beers. It seems to me Hawes' shot has given Hay the best of the start for the Democratic senatorial nomination. Still Hawes is a smart politician and knows what he's doing. It begins to look as if after his feeler he won't make the race. Maybe he has discovered that his country advisers who told him that the dries were disintegrating won't stay with him. Mostly the same kind of fellows got him to run for a governorship nomination against Folk and then lay down on him and didn't deliver. And yet if Hawes can get two or three candidates out on a dry platform they'll split the dry vote and Harry could slip in as a wet.

Senator Reed hasn't the ghost of a chance to go to San Francisco as delegate at large from Missouri. That's flat. He'd be silly to try to go as a district delegate. It would be like a man defeated for a mayoralty nomination taking the nomination for constable as a consolation prize. Reed may fight to a finish for one or both honors but

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that will be only an exhibition of game-ness and won't get him anywhere. He may split the party. It cannot spare even so many votes as Reed may carry with him from among the Irish and the Germans. I like Reed for his spunk and independence, but he's up against the hard facts, first, that the regulars won't have him, and second that the women will not have him because of slurs he cast upon them. Reed can't help himself, but if he sticks as a kicker to the finish he can and will hurt other people on his party's ticket. I'll say that Reed isn't helped by the support of a man like Judge Priest, the corporation lawyer. I don't indorse the damnation of Judge Priest. I only state the fact that his support of any Democrat is fatal.

As I see the Democratic struggle for the governorship nomination, it's this way: Maj. Hawes has given John M. Atkinson a big boost with the dries. Atkinson has a start on the field, though I can't say that his program is worth much: just the old string of balanced promises of things everybody's agreed upon, with of course the usual cheap bunk about the Reds and Bolsheviks having no harborage "on the sacred soil of Mizzourah!" Judge Mayer, of St. Joseph, seems to be looking for the nomination by way of some kind of a deal with Reed's friend Prendergast of Kansas City. I have heard, too, that Mayer is regarded as Morton Jourdan's candidate, which means—oh, well I'm no corporation-baiter. Frank Farris is running all to himself, declaring against Reed for anything, and for light wines and beers. He might have a better chance if he were not so well known—or perhaps if he were better known for the man he is, rather than what some people think he is. For Farris is an able man in any event. It is sad that so many Democrats are more concerned to know whom he is running for than what he is running for.

Remains George H. Moore's candidacy. He is Internal Revenue Collector at St. Louis. They call him "Pike." He is an agreeable man and very widely acquainted in the state. He has among his appointees some of the best political organizers in this city and in the state. His quality is familiar to the people. He is an efficient official. He's a city man and the politicians are not crazy about St. Louisan governors, but there's a lot of country about George Moore that urban trituration has not rubbed off. He isn't tagged wet or dry. He was one Federal appointee who didn't go to the big dinner to hear Jim Reed scarify the peace proposals of the President who appointed him. "Pike" Moore has a big following in the big Democratic counties and I think he will give any other contestant for the governorship nomination a hard run for the place. Nobody is fighting him. Many are working for him. I'd say he's the favorite in the betting, if there is any betting.

As an old hand in politics it is my opinion that St. Louis is a negligible factor in Democratic politics so far as the primary is concerned. The St. Louis organization is beneath contempt. It is concerned with the disposition of police turnkeys, paroles for petty criminals and "a shade" for "workers" who have little ward or precinct grafts of one

kind or another. To the counties St. Louis means wetness and the memory of old scandals and of weak gubernatorial administrations and lukewarmness of Senatorial support for Wilson in the war, deriving as is suspected from St. Louis interests. Whatever St. Louis or its spokesmen are most solid for the Democratic country will be most solid against. That's why I think the cry for light wines and beers has spilled the beans.

Turning to the Republican situation I don't see how they're going to prevent the renomination of Senator Spencer. Consider: he was for peace treaty reservations; he voted to override the President's veto of the Volstead act. Both those things will help him in the country though they hurt him in St. Louis with the Gambrinian control of the party. I don't look for a beer throw-down of Spencer. Republican big business will hold the organization steady. And Spencer is something of a wizard when it comes to getting out and mixing with the people. He takes well with both church people and the members of the machine. His opponent is Dwight Davis, a young man of wealth, an excellent commissioner of parks and recreation in St. Louis, a gallant soldier in the war, and a man not afraid to say he is against prohibition on principle. He's about the only candidate for anything in Missouri who has thus far had the courage to come out thus flat-footedly on this issue. Mr. Davis may not be well known in the state but personally he will make a favorable impression. Still, indorsed by the City Hall crowd of St. Louis, he will have a hard time overcoming political prejudice against such associations. Spencer is an older and wiser campaigner than Davis and as I think has a better organization of the boys who can get out the vote. He has done many services for his constituents during his brief Senatorial term, such as getting boys out of the army and navy. Those things count big in a primary and in an election too.

I would say that E. E. E. McJimsey looks like the man the Republicans will nominate for the governorship if I had much faith that the St. Louis organization will stay with him to the end. I can't get a good line on what Jacob L. Babler, national committeeman, is doing in regard to state nominations. I gather from assaults upon him from certain quarters that he is for Spencer for Senator and everybody takes it for granted that he is for Lowden for the Presidential nomination, though Wood influences are pressing him hard. Babler is an insurance man and he looks at things from that standpoint. He's not an uplifter or anything like that, so Hoover can't seduce him. But Babler deals fair and square, if cautiously. I more than half suspect he's for Spencer without limitation, though, doubtless, for so wealthy a man as Dwight Davis he has all the respect a capitalist should have.

Up in St. Joseph the state committee has "put one over," or tried to, on the supporters of Leonard Wood, by holding the primary for the whole town at one voting place during two or three hours. There's a big roar against such Lowden tactics and C. D. Morris, the able and pleasant editor of the *Gazette*, leads the "holler," saying this sort of thing will beat the Republican party in the state. It is snap stuff worse than the St. Louis County Democratic job against Folk in 1904. Maybe the state committee will rescind the order and give the Wood men a show. It should, simply as good politics.

Whom the Republicans will send as delegate at large to Chicago is problematical. Mayor Kiel will certainly be one of them, as is proper for a vote-getter and a personally popular man. Senator Spencer may go, though his rival for the Senatorial nomination, Dwight Davis, objects with good reason because such an honor to Spencer would help him in the Senatorial primary. C. D. Morris, of the *St. Joseph Gazette*, is indicated as one of the delegates too. He's entitled to the distinction. If there

are other aspirants I haven't heard of them. Maybe Jake Babler will be one. It's likely he wants to be. Probably the St. Louis delegation will urge some wealthy Republican from St. Louis.

There's a man named Hyde, from Trenton, who's running for the governorship nomination, and doing very well out in the state, but in St. Louis or Kansas City, when you ask about him, there is but one reply: "He's dry—bone dry." That's the last as well as the first word of obloquy. But I wonder what the wild and woolly wets think of

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Wedding Rings and Orange Blossoms are so delightfully connected by the charming time-honored legend that designers of the interesting circlet have created an Orange Blossom design cleverly executed in platinum or gold.

The Wedding Ring pictured above is a platinum circle, entirely surrounded by the twenty-two small diamonds—**\$235.00**

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the party organ, the *Globe-Democrat*. "The news in that paper is steeped in beer," says one Republican party man, "but the editorials are evangelically listed towards drouth." This dichotomy in the Republican organ shows that the St. Louis wets may have impressed Managing Editor Joe McAuliffe—odd name for a Republican, hereabouts—but they haven't swept Casper Yost, editor of the editorial page, off his base. Yost is sponsor for "Patience Worth," you know. Maybe he has a ouija board tip on things not vouchsafed to McAuliffe, though McAuliffe is one of the best posted men in Missouri on politics in general and in detail.

As I wind up this screed I see that Maj. Hawes is trying to make Democratic Senatorial candidate Breckenridge Long declare himself, wet or dry, and Long declines to be "stampeded." He will declare himself, he says, when he gets ready. A Long man said to me "I wonder what the voters of Missouri will say to this demand of the liquor interests upon Breck. It looks like an ugly threat." But the dries have held up candidates in the same fashion for years. Long's postponement of decision on this point is no worse than that of Jim Minnis, former Wabash attorney, also Senatorial aspirant. He is challenging the Missouri head of the Anti-

Saloon League to debate the liquor issue. I don't think Mr. Minnis is running strong. I fail to observe any strong support for him among railroad men. That's strange, when you recall that at one time Minnis and some of his friends thought he was going to succeed Ed. Kearney as president of the Wabash, failing which, Mr. Minnis reformed and came out for Senatorial nomination.

Hoover? There's a lot of Hoover sentiment in Missouri, but it doesn't seem to be located where it can elect any delegates, and it's the delegates who will moninate.

Letters from the People

Stock Dividend Decision Wrong

839 West End Avenue,
New York City, March 31, 1920.

Editor of *Reedy's Mirror*:

You are right, and Lawson Purdy is wrong, about the stock dividend decision of the Supreme Court. The illustration given by Mr. Purdy doesn't apply to the conditions of the case passed upon by the court. Here is a sample of the way in which the stock dividend game is worked:

"The first of the Standard Oil subsidiaries to take advantage of the United States Supreme Court decision that stock dividends are not taxable income is the Continental Oil Company. At a meeting yesterday in Denver the stockholders of this company declared a stock dividend of 200 per cent. Distribution will call for 60,000 shares of the new stock at a par value of \$100 each. The dividend rate of 12 per cent yearly will be continued on the new capitalization." (N. Y. *World*, March 31st.)

The net result of paying part of its dividend in stock, instead of cash, is that the stockholders in this company get the equivalent of cash, for the new stock can be sold for cash, and the public will be mulcted in permanently higher charges for oil to pay annual dividends of 12 per cent on the new stock.

WHIDDEN GRAHAM

✻

Stabilizing the Dollar

Long Branch, N. J., March 31, 1920.

Editor of *Reedy's Mirror*:

Although Prof. Laughlin maintains that high commodity prices are not due to "inflation" either of money or credit, Prof. Irving Fisher goes right on taking an opposite view and still claims that the one real remedy for general price fluctuations is to vary the amount of gold allocated to the dollar. ("Stabilizing the Dollar," the Macmillan Co., New York.)

A point in relation to the Fisher plan appears to have escaped attention. The professor has convinced many able men that his plan is feasible, and among them are those who most seriously view the sequences of "inflation" of money and credit. It does not seem to have occurred to them, or perhaps to Prof. Fisher himself, that the plan would render "inflation" harmless, except to the gold mining industry.

Prof. Fisher proposes to vary the gold content whenever general prices, as, for instance, shown by index numbers, develop a tendency to rise or fall. If profiteering raises prices; if monopoly makes its gains in larger measure; if taxation pyramids until the load tends to be excessive—more gold will be allocated to the dollar and a price level will be maintained. So, too, if "inflation" steadily increases—the dollar gold content would change accordingly.

As more gold is allocated to the dollar, the "price" of gold will be lowered. Our present dollar of 23.22 grains gold runs 20.67 to the ounce, and the "price" of gold is \$20.67 the fine ounce. Once we adopt the Fisher plan, if general prices tend to increase, those who are interested in gold production will get fewer dollars for their product, and the

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The most distinguished American designers are well represented. Copies and adaptations from foremost Parisian style creators make our collection extremely interesting and thoroughly cosmopolitan. May we suggest an early inspection?

Street and Daytime Frocks

The smartest modes of the moment are in Serge, Tricotine and Poiret Twill. There are new variations on the Eton, Bolero and Toreador theme, with skirts circular or accordion pleated. Gay colored sashes and embroideries add charm. Prices range from \$65 to \$375.

Afternoon Frocks and Gowns

Many silks are favored, with taffeta in the lead for bouffant models—with self-plaitings, shirrings, tucks, etc. Other frocks of grace and beauty are fashioned of tricolette, mignonette, crepe meteor, satin, foulard, chiffons and georgettes at \$62.50 to \$310.

Lovely Sports Frocks

Your presence at the "Board Walk" will doubtless require a frock of this character. We have models—made most fascinatingly of the latest sports weaves. Others are combined with exquisitely fine woolen weaves. The colorings are rarely lovely. The prices—\$69.75 to \$150.

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fewer dollars will actually purchase less of the commodities since commodity prices are to be stabilized at some one point.

On the other hand, as prices tend downward by reason of changes in the amount or incidence of taxation, improvements in processes, curbing of monopoly and cessation of profiteering, the "price" of gold will go up, and, since each dollar will buy as much as before, those interested in gold mining will profit in proportion. If any considerable portion of our people were directly interested in gold production, under the Fisher plan there might arise a powerful interest in favor of tax reform and other economic changes working in the direction of lower commodity prices.

GEORGE WHITE.

Law Enforcement

Chicago, April 2, 1920.

Editor of REEDY'S MIRROR:

I notice that a Missouri gentleman by the name of McJimsey is a candidate for political preferment on the platform of "law enforcement." Judging from the humiliating indignities imposed upon a citizen of St. Louis in Texas, and others throughout the United States, by Krammer's snoopers, it cannot be the eighteenth amendment to which this candidate refers.

Maybe it is the fifteenth amendment which the gentleman has in mind. This democratic administration has not shown as much enthusiasm for the enforcement of the fifteenth amendment as a staunch believer in true Republican principles might like to see. If we may judge from the ardor with which a great many Republican voters are urging the enforcement of the fifteenth amendment, it is just possible this McJimsey candidate might achieve his ambitions were he to make known the fact that if invested with political power he would use his influence to correct one of the sins of omission with which the wicked Democrats may be justly charged.

JOHN W. MASKELL

Hue and Cry for Chubb

New York City, March 30, 1920.

Editor of Reedy's Mirror:

I have discovered the identity of Elmer Chubb, LL.D., Ph.D. It is none other than Whidden Graham of New York City, the world's greatest master of that form of epistolary literature known as "Letters to the Editor."

Mr. Whidden Graham has a multiple personality which prevents him from signing his best known name to all his letters. He has fought prohibition so long he has come to love what erst he hated, as a detective becomes an admirer of the skillful thief. He is a poet, too, as everybody knows who frequents the Players' Club in this city. Mr. Graham wears red whiskers. There are red whiskers on the sonnets of Elmer Chubb, LL.D., Ph.D. Mr. Graham is the only man in the world who can talk as much or as fast as Elmer Chubb, LL.D., Ph.D., writes.

ASPENWALL ONDERDONK.

7852 Amsterdam Avenue,
New York City, March 31, 1920.

Editor of Reedy's Mirror:

The Elmer Chubb, LL.D., Ph.D., letters are evidently written by Clarence Darrow. Mr. Darrow has long been an advocate of prohibition—for the other fellow, and he is known to have an intense dislike for the radical and dangerous sentiments so often expressed in "Spoon River Anthology."

ROBERT BLACKWOOD.

839 West End Avenue,
New York City, March 29th, 1920.

Editor of Reedy's Mirror:

It seems pretty clear that Elmer Chubb, LL.D., Ph.D., is another pen name for

Witter Bynner. His mean and envious attacks on the venerable and respectable author of "Spoon River Anthology" show him to be jealous of a brother poet.

The sonnets in this week's issue of the MIRROR have a remarkable resemblance to Mr. Bynner's verse.

SAMUEL P. CUTLER.

"Here's a man who was held up in a taxi." "How much did the chauffeur charge him?"—Judge.

"We tried to buy some rope to hang a profiteer." "Well?" "But the dealer wanted too much for it."—Dallas News.

The Eternal Scot

An Englishman and two Scotchmen were sitting in the smokeroom when there entered another Scot. "Ah, ha," said the Englishman, "another Scotchman has arrived." "Weel," said another of the Scots, "I don't see what you've got to complain about. We always treat the English natives well." "What worries us," said the Englishman, "is that you don't treat us often enough." Then there fell a silence which led the waiter to turn to and polish his glasses.

"Italy seems a bit fretful over the peace treaty, doesn't she?" "Well, she certainly is in a Fiume, so to speak."—Baltimore American.



Our Stock of

Rarely Beautiful Oriental Rugs

Is Exceptionally Complete

Recent attempts to purchase Oriental Rugs has undoubtedly convinced you of their very great scarcity. The supply on hand is far below the demand, and a recalling of present conditions among native rug makers convinces one that our supplies cannot increase very rapidly. It is almost an impossibility to replace stock on Oriental Rugs.

Therefore we count ourselves especially favored in being able to add to our already very rich stock, the rugs of the Cowan Gallery Stock. If you have seen these rugs you will agree that they are of a rarely beautiful type, the sort in which collectors take keen delight.

We are offering them at decidedly attractive prices and earnestly urge everyone who is contemplating a purchase of Oriental rugs to investigate our stock. Some items of interest are listed:

| | | | | | |
|----------------------|------------|----------|--------------|-----------|----------|
| Fine Persian Carpet— | | | Cabistan— | 5. 2x3. 4 | \$55.00 |
| | 13. 0x10.3 | \$750.00 | Kurdistan— | 6. 0x4. 4 | \$75.00 |
| Amritza— | 15. 0x 9.9 | \$580.00 | Kurd— | 6. 6x4. 4 | \$70.00 |
| Chinese— | 10. 0x 8.0 | \$350.00 | Mosul— | 5. 0x3. 0 | \$55.00 |
| Melez— | 10. 3x 8.3 | \$335.00 | Mosul— | 5.10x3. 5 | \$57.50 |
| Fine Hamadan— | 6. 7x 4.2 | \$93.00 | Iran— | 6. 9x4. 4 | \$150.00 |
| Antique Camel Hair— | 6. 4x3. 4 | \$65.00 | Cabistan— | 6. 0x3.11 | \$75.00 |
| | | | Mosul Runner | 7. 3x3. 4 | \$85.00 |

One lot of "Scatter Rugs," 3½ to 4½ wide and 5 to 6½ feet long, in Irans, Kurdistans, Shiraz, Cabistans, etc., at \$93.00 each.

One lot of small Beloochistans, \$31.50 each.

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GRAND LEADER



Particular Shops for Particular People

IN THE HEART OF THE RETAIL DISTRICT

No matter how exacting your tastes and requirements, you will find satisfaction in the superior quality of merchandise and the great latitude of choice afforded by the Arcade shops.

Add to these a refreshing attentiveness to your slightest needs and a service that expresses appreciation of your patronage, and you have discovered the solution to your shopping problems.

"Shop the Arcade Way"

Arcade Building

Eighth and Olive—Thru to Pine

ISAAC T. COOK, Manager

Marts and Money

On the New York Stock Exchange latest movements were erratic and somewhat confusing. Traders were inclined to mark time, pending definite change for the better in the financial situation, the tension in which was accentuated by April first settlements. The cautious mood was emphasized by reports of extensive selling for both accounts in stocks which have been setting the mob agape for several weeks.

A most astounding manipulative spiel was pulled off in Stutz Motor, which rose about eighty points on alluring tales of stock dividends and consolidation. The extraordinary performance came to a stop when the Exchange officials ordered the stock struck from the list. There were rumors, in this connection, that some of the prominent pools have suspended operations and withdrawn from the market, with a view to repurchasing at substantially lower prices. To the surprise of watchful observers, there were no sinister advances in the rates for loans in the past few days, the highest levels being 10 and 12 per cent.

Helpful influences were exerted by reports of additional importations of gold from London and a renewed rising tendency in the quotation for sterling exchange. Thus far, the sum total of yellow metal received from England stands at \$20,000,000. There still is a strong belief that both London and Paris are preparing for heavy shipments of gold for the purpose of taking care of the \$500,000,000 Anglo-French loan of 1914 at maturity next October. The Federal Reserve Board is resolutely opposed to a continuation of inflationistic tactics in the prices of securities and commodities. In its latest weekly bulletin it declares that the season "of extravagance and reckless buying is nearing the end." It is earnestly to be hoped that such may prove to be the case, in commodity values in especial. There's no valid ground for suspicions that the prices of meritorious investment and speculative stocks have reached inexcusably high levels, if we leave aside the limited number of industrials which have been the bellwethers in the rise since the close of January.

It would be foolish to hold that the prevailing prices of good railroad certificates are unwarranted. They yet are materially under the yearly averages of pre-war times. The same holds good with regard to shares of commercial and industrial corporations which pay dividends varying from 4 to 12 per cent, have large surpluses in their treasuries, and are bound to reap big profits in the next few years even in the event of marked deflation in commodity values. The quotations for railroad stocks show losses of one to two points on account of fears of labor troubles. There are no real apprehensions, though, that the downward movement might assume unpleasant proportions. The inquiry for shares of this kind is sufficiently broad and brisk to obviate the danger of serious liquidation.

Investors are not anxious to get rid of investment paper yielding 6½ to 8½ per cent and representing the finest transportation systems in the world.

They will stick to their possessions confidently expectant of another sharp rise before a great while. Take such a stock as Norfolk & Western common, which pays a yearly dividend of 7 per cent and is procurable at 97½, a price denoting a return of about 7¼ per cent, and which sold at 147½ in 1916. The dividend in this case could conveniently be raised to 8 or 9 per cent. About the same argument applies to Atchison common, Southern Pacific, New York Central, Union Pacific, Louisville & Nashville, and Great Northern. Wall Street is only mildly interested in the bill, introduced by Senator Freylinghousen of New Jersey, calling for a refunding issue of \$30,000,000 of 3½ per cent tax-exempt bonds not endowed with the circulation privilege. Under existing conditions, the flotation of a loan of this kind and size must be considered a rather dubious venture.

Liberty bonds are selling at figures implying net yields of a little over 5 per cent. Furthermore, enlightened judgment among financiers does not favor a return to the circulation privilege system. The present system, ushered in about six years ago, has demonstrated its high merits in convincing fashion. It has guided the financial interests of the nation through one of the most perilous periods in the world's history. At no time have there been calamitous insolvencies, nor have violent excesses on the Stock Exchange in New York been followed by such catastrophic breakdowns as used to be witnessed between 1865 and 1908. Therefore, let well enough alone. On March 26, the gold reserves of the Federal Reserve Banks amounted to \$1,934,755,000, as against a high record of \$2,201,804,000 on June 16, 1919. The apparent shrinkage since the latter date—\$268,049,000—is surprisingly small. It doesn't justify the scare-mongering concerning the falling reserve ratio which we have been regaled with for some weeks. At this moment, Wall Street's call-money rate is only 6 per cent. The obvious conclusion is that the banks and trust companies see no real necessity for adopting drastic measures in order to prevent the upward drift in the values of securities. The rise is natural. It may and will be interrupted from time to time by profit-taking, the happening of the unexpected and professional attacks, but it will reassert itself speedily and continue until quotations have reached levels over-discounting the ardently anticipated favors of economic fortune.

✦

Finance in St. Louis.

In the local market the state of affairs remains encouraging to owners of good stock and bond issues. The inquiry is sufficiently broad to justify expectations of further betterment in quoted values.

There's plenty of money in St. Louis and adjacent territory for investment and speculative operations. Commercial and industrial conditions are prosperous and available supplies of surplus funds are larger than they ever have been. Industrial development, widening and extension of streets, increasing building activity, and steady growth of population must, perforce, make St. Louis one

of the greatest investment centers of the nation.

Latest Quotations.

| | Bid. | Asked. |
|-----------------------------|------|--------|
| Liberty Bank..... | 200 | |
| Miss. Valley Trust..... | 292½ | |
| St. L. Cotton Compress..... | 39 | |
| Mo. Portland Cement..... | 80 | |
| International Shoe com..... | 9 | 9½ |
| do pfd..... | 55½ | 56 |
| Nat. Bank of Commerce..... | 144½ | 145 |
| First National Bank..... | | 218½ |
| Mercantile Trust..... | 375½ | 378 |
| Title Guarantee Trust..... | 67 | 70½ |
| United Railways 4s..... | 48½ | |
| Fulton Iron com..... | 78 | 79½ |
| do pfd..... | 105 | |
| Corno Mills..... | 125½ | |
| Certain-teed com..... | | 55 |
| Indianoma Refg..... | 8½ | 9½ |
| Ely Walker com..... | | 205 |
| St. Louis Screw..... | 250 | |
| Hydraulic P. Brk. com..... | 9 | |
| do pfd..... | 55½ | 56 |
| Granite Bimetalic..... | 40 | |
| Marland Refg..... | 5½ | 5¾ |
| National Candy com..... | 150 | |
| Wagner Electric..... | 165 | 168 |
| Temtor A..... | 46½ | |
| do B..... | 41 | 41½ |

Answers to Inquiries.

FINANCE, St. Louis.—(1) The 3 per cents of the Kansas City Southern are a commendable investment. They are a first mortgage on 388 miles and a first lien on 435 miles. They fall due April, 1950. The present price of 54½ compares with a maximum of 64½ in 1919. The best on record—75½—was established in 1909. (2) The company's 5 per cents are a second mortgage on 388 miles, a second lien on 435 miles, and a first lien on miscellaneous securities. They look attractive at current price of 68½, which indicates a yield of about 7½ per cent.

SUBSCRIBER, Austin, Tex.—(1) Federal Oil is of the par value of \$5. It is wholly speculative, and capitalization somewhat excessive. The ruling price is 3½. The declaration of a stock dividend on common shares has so far had no stimulating effect on the quotation. (2) Osage Oil stock is quoted at 95 cents bid, \$1.10½ asked. Sold as high as \$2.50 last year. Company has two wells producing about 200 barrels a day. Prospects favor additional oil discoveries on the area of more than 3,000 acres controlled by the company. Don't buy unless you can afford to run the risks involved.

PERSONAL, Detroit, Mich.—Advance Rumely 6 per cent preferred doesn't appear too high at 70, the present quotation. Sold at 76 in 1919. The statement for last year shows a surplus of \$2,401,907, equal to \$12.02 on \$13.750,000 common, after payment of preferred dividend, which is cumulative. Company's prospects are favorable, it being engaged in one of the most promising businesses, that is, in the manufacturing of traction engines and farm machinery of various kinds.

B. W. E., Tipton, Mo.—Put your idle funds into municipal bonds, paying not less than 4½ per cent. This includes county and school district issues. Investment paper of this class has always been highly esteemed by investors, and that for the very important reason that defaults on principal and interest are very seldom heard of. If you intend a temporary investment, see to it that the bonds selected are negotiable without particular difficulty.

INVESTOR, Tulsa, Okla.—(1) You need not be timorous about buying Union Pacific 4 per cent preferred. It is a safe investment and cheap at 66½, the current price, which is \$8 below the best figure in 1919. (2) Low-priced, second-grade railroad bonds are the following: St. Paul refunding 4½s, netting \$7.25 at 60¾, the ruling quotation; Minneapolis & St. Louis first 5s, netting 8.20 at 73¼; Frisco prior lien 4s, netting 7.47 at 58¾, and Western Maryland first 4s, netting 8.15 at 52¾.

Thimblerragged

A bright little newsie entered a business office, and approaching a glum-looking man at one of the desks began with an ingratiating smile: "I'm selling thimbles to raise enough money to—" "Out with you!" interrupted the man. "Wouldn't you like to look at some nice thimbles?" "I should say not!" "They're fine, and I'd like to make a sale," the boy continued. Turning in his chair to fully face the lad, the grouch caustically inquired: "What 'n seven kinds of blue blazes do you think I want with a thimble?" Edging toward the door to make a safe getaway, the boy answered: "Use it for a hat."

Coming Shows

The notable event of the season at the American Theatre will be the appearance of Mrs. Fiske in her delightful comedy, "Miss Nelly of N' Orleans," which comes to this city after a season's run in New York, for one week commencing next Monday evening. The play is a gay and bewitching tale of the "old South." The theme revolves around the mischievous pranks of the madcap Nelly Davenport, who in her wilful whims and mad caprice, is ready to move heaven and earth to accomplish the end upon which she has set her heart. Mrs. Fiske has invested the role with all of her scintillating wit, her persuasive personal charm and her skillful artistry and technique, creating a character which runs the gamut of all her previous comedy portrayals. The cast that will support Mrs. Fiske is one of unusual excellence and includes Hamilton Revelle, Victor Benoit, Joseph Greene, Gertrude Chase, Dorothy Day, Eva Benton, Ezra Walck and Clarissa Stem. Readers of this paper will recall Mr. Silas Bent's review of the play upon its first appearance in New York.

The Schubert-Jefferson theatre will present an innovation called "The Gaieties of 1919" next week, the first of a series of spectacular musical productions similar to "The Passing Show." The first number of the series is gotten up most lavishly: twenty-five colossal and colorful stage settings, gorgeous costumes, noted stars, and a fetching chorus of pretty stage debutantes are incorporated. Heading the list of Broadway favorites are Jack Norworth and Harry Watson. They will be supported by Stuart Baird, Ted Lorraine, Al Shayne, White and Clayton, Klein Brothers, Marguerite Farrell, Janet Adair, the Glorias, Teddy Tapan and Helen Armstrong, Gladys Walton, Betty Fitch and Florence Elmore.

The joint headline attractions at the Grand Opera House next week will be The Great Lester, ventriloquist, and the Venetian Gypsies, in a musical number descriptive of gypsy life in Venice. La Graciosa, who challenges Kellermann on the beauty of her form, will appear in a gorgeous spectacle "Visions in Fairyland." Weir and Crest, "The Yank and the wop;" Newell and Most in a comic skit; Rexo, roller skater, in "The Tunnel Sensation;" Moore and Shy, "A Study in Contrast;" Hugo Rio in a novelty called "As in the Days of Nero;" and Walter Black, monologist, complete the show.

The Columbia bill for the last half of the current week has as headliner the Lew Cantor production called "Let's Go," in which Batchelor, Morris and Vert are the principal entertainers. It is full of good comedy and is descriptive of troubles in a dining car. The feature picture is Eugene O'Brien in "A Fool and His Money." Gordon and Delmar sing snappy songs; Andrew Copeland entertains with songs and stories; Beatrice McKenzie and company have a bright skit called "Liberty Lane;" and Duke and Duchess, "the dogs who understand," amuse both the big and the little folks.

Some of the smallest people in the world are going to do some of the biggest acts on the stage next week at the Orpheum Theatre, where Singer's Midgits will be the topline. They present a number composed of the best music hall and vaudeville features, in a new setting. Horsemanship, acrobatics, boxing, music comedy, comedy sketches, singing, dancing, strong man work, are only a few of the things they do and astonishingly. Ivan Bankoff, of Russia, from the Imperial Russian Ballet School, with his company will give a torpichorean program, showing dancing brought to its highest development. Miss Eva Taylor, in a humorous satire called "Virginia Rye," by Lawrence Grattan; Moss and Frye in a darkey turn; George Austin Moore, an A. E. F. favorite, as a "single" in a new vehicle; Jane Barber and Jerome Jackson in a skit, "Just Mirth and Melody," and Herman and Shirley, a classy team, in a comedy novelty called "The Mysterious Masquerader," complete the menu.

Knew the Salve

The valued cook of a certain family has been in the same situation for years, and the other afternoon the mistress of the house visited the kitchen and said: "You know, Mary, we are all very fond of you. I hope you like your present room and are content with your wages. I am thinking of giving you one of my silk petticoats." Whereupon the cook's eyes widened, and she answered her mistress: "Oh, mum, how ever many people have you been an' gone an' asked to dinner now?"

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Capital and Surplus \$10,000,000

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FOR HEADACHE, NEURALGIA, INFLUENZA AND ALL PAIN

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SHUBERT-JEFFERSON St. Louis' Leading Playhouse

Week Commencing Sunday Eve., April 11th—Seats Now
POPULAR MATINEES WEDNESDAY AND SATURDAY
EVENINGS \$1.00 TO \$2.50 MATINEES 50c TO \$2.00

Messrs. Lee and J. J. Shubert Present

THEIR NEWEST AND MOST UP-TO-THE-MINUTE OF ALL
WINTER GARDEN REVUES

SHUBERT GAIETIES OF 1919

AN UNSURPASSED ARRAY OF BRILLIANT STARS, INCLUDING

JACK NORWORTH

HARRY WATSON

| | | |
|--------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Marguerite Farrell | Al Shayne | Janet Adair |
| Teddy Tappen | Klein Brothers | Llora Hoffman |
| Stewart Baird | White & Clayton | The Glorias |
| Helen Armstrong | San Critcherson | Betty Fitch |
| Gladys Walton | Ted Lorraine | Florence Emlore |

AND A CHORUS OF WINTER GARDEN BEAUTIES

Orpheum
THE BEST IN VAUDEVILLE
(Orpheum Circuit)

2:15—Twice Every Day—8:15
Mats., 15c to 50c. Eves., 25c to \$1

Mabel—FORD SISTERS—Dora

OWEN | JOHNNIE
McGIVENEY | FORD

WALTER WEEMS | WATTS & HAWLEY
The Walters | Herbert's Spectacle
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GRAND Opera House 15-30c
Sixth & Market

Junior Theatre, Orpheum Circuit

11 a. m.—Continuous—11 p. m.

9—BIG VAUDEVILLE ACTS—9

BIG EASTER WEEK BILL

Five American Girls A Quintet of American Beauties
in Song and Music
MARIE STODDARD

The Bud Fisher of Song
Lady Alice's Pets—Kelly & Post
Gabberts Duo—Two Kawanas
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TWO SHOWS DAILY—2:15 AND 8:15

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Purity,
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AMERICAN Week Beginning Monday Night, **APRIL 12**
Matinees Wed. and Sat.

COHAN
AND
HARRIS
Present

MRS. FISKE

In "Mis' Nelly of N'Orleans"

By Laurence Eyre

Direction of Harrison Grey Fiske

Gayety Theatre TWO SHOWS DAILY
14th and Locust

THIS WEEK

Original Billy Watson

Next Week: GOLDEN CROOK

The New Columbia THEATRE BEAUTIFUL
11 a. m.—Closes—11 p. m.

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